2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

726 proceed without further delay into the enemy's territory. As a rule, however, they preferred to attack by surprise, in order not to allow their opponents time enough to drive their cattle into security. They seized upon all the men, women and cattle that came in their way, and then returned with their booty before they could be attacked. Often enough they would swoop down upon the kraals, as in one of many similar recorded instances where a band of Little Namaqua and Chariguriqua attacked a Kochoqua kraal near Saldanha Bay, killed the chief and as many of the men as they could get hold of, and carried off women, children, and cattle as booty.

If the enemy was prepared to receive them, both sides would first shoot at one another from a distance with their arrows, and then as the one showed signs of weakening the other would close up and the battle resolve itself into a disorder of hand-to-hand fights with the kirri and the spear. Sometimes the fighting-oxen would accompany the men, and when the chief thought the moment opportune, the beasts, goaded to fury, would be driven into the weakest ranks of the enemy, and in the havoc that ensued victory was assured.

728 One such battle as a rule ended the war. As soon as victory was obtained, the conquerors withdrew with their booty, and the defeated enemy, on coming together again, would send messengers to negotiate for peace and to make any necessary concessions. After the foundation of the Dutch settlement the practice developed of requesting its commander to mediate in such cases, which for reasons of policy he was always willing to do; but Graevenbroeck describes a peace-making ceremony which he says was observed in fixed form among the Hottentots themselves. When peace was desired, the two sides came together at their boundary, and after they had agreed upon terms an ox was slaughtered with spears, and the corpse left a prey to wild animals. They then expressed the wish that whoever might break the compact should come to all possible harm, the fate implied being that he might perish pierced through just like the ox, and become the food of vultures and hyenas.[1]

727 The burning of huts or other destruction of property does not seem to have been usual in these wars. Nor as a rule were the dead dismembered or despoiled. They were left untouched where they fell, and the victors, after having buried their own fallen warriors, withdrew and permitted the vanquished also to bury their dead. At times, however, when excited by lust of plunder or in a spirit of revenge,

[1] Op. cit., 369.

already been limited by the immigration of the Orlam, showed a tendency to move from the south to the north and north-east and thus had to meet the Herero in the north and the Mbanderu in the north-east. Many battles were fought in which they fought for two things, extermination of the enemy and for the possession of his cattle. As a rule the Nama were less fortunate than the Herero in these pillaging expeditions. 175 721

2. In these distressing circumstances the female Chief of the Red Nation turned to Jonker Afrikaner, whose troops, although not many, were superior to the Herero by reason of the possession of fire-arms, while the latter still used to fight with arrow, bow, club and spear after the old fashion. Jonker in conjunction with the Red Nation and allied tribes drove the Herero back, wandered to and fro in Namaland for quite a long time and settled eventually in Windhoek about the year 1835. A man with very high aspirations and unbridled desires for power, he aimed at becoming sovereign chief of the Nama tribe and at the same time forcing the Herero under his sway.

For this purpose he chose his capital seat strategically, right between these two tribes in the centre of the country. At Christmas, 1842, a temporary peace was made between him and the Herero, but did not last long. Jonker was visited by traders who sold large quantities of brandy to him, furnished him with guns, gunpowder and lead, and advised him to settle his heavy accounts with cattle from the Herero herds. [728]

3. As early as 1846 Jonker broke the peace and made a renewed attack on the Herero, whose most powerful chief, Tjamuaha, lived in Okahandja. After a terrible massacre on August 23rd, 1850, at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and many women crippled to obtain the copper rings they wore round their legs, by chopping off their feet, the opposition of the Herero was so broken that Tjamuaha placed himself under Jonker's protection to save himself and his cattle, and the chief of the Herero became Jonker's first servant. The latter furnished him with guns and ordered him to rob his own subjects so as to enable Jonker to meet his trading debts.

At that time many Herero fled to the north with their herds, while others returned to the Kaokoveld so as to be safe from their own chief Tjamuaha, but Jonker, in order to make the suppression of the Herero complete, went to Okahandja.

4. When death overtook him there on August 18th, 1861, he had attained through numerous raids and battles, what he aimed at; instead of the former predominance of the Red Nation, the Afrikaners were the leaders of the Nama tribe in war and in peace and the Herero had to pay tribute to the Nama. However, this supreme sovereignty did not last long. Tjamuaha, "Jonker's dog," also died. His successor was the determined Maharero, while Jonker was succeeded by the weakling, Christian Afrikaner.

175 721 Maharero left Okahandja all of a sudden and went to Otjimbingue, where he gathered all available Hereros round him. Christian feeling himself too weak unaided to seize him there, especially as Maharero had furnished his people with firearms, called the Nama tribes to his assistance. On June 15th, 1863, in a decisive battle at Otjimbingue the Nama were totally defeated and Christian, as well as the Chief of Bethanie, lost their lives.

Christian's successor was Jonker's nephew, Jan Jonker [728] Afrikaner. He also suffered many defeats from Maharero, till ultimately in 1870 the Peace of Okahandja was made, whereby Jan Jonker took possession of Windhoek in fee to the Herero and pledged himself to observe peace.

5. There followed ten years of peace. It is worth noting that during this time Mr. Palgrave concluded treaties of protection with the Nama and Herero chiefs by order of the Cape Government, in order to restore peace to the disorganised country by bringing it under the supreme power of the Cape Government. Protective treaties were unknown to the Herero and Nama and so much was promised on both sides that they were signed without much opposition by well-nigh all the chiefs, but new riots brought these treaties to a sudden end. While Palgrave was in Gobabis discussing the matter with the Nama chiefs there, some Herero herdsmen were slain by the Nama. Immediately after receiving this news Maharero had all Nama, residing in Okahandja, killed. This happened on August 23rd, 1880, exactly thirty years after the massacre by Jonker in Okahandja. He also gave orders for all Namas in Hereroland to be killed. A cry of indignation went up through all Namaland. Mr. Palgrave, who was afraid that his treaties with the Nama chiefs in Gobabis might induce chief Maharero to turn against him personally, went back to Walfisch Bay as fast as possible and left the country, and as the Cape Parliament did not seem very anxious to bring restless South West Africa under its rule, nothing resulted from his mission.

6. The indignant Nama of almost all the tribes gathered round Jan Jonker Afrikaner. But the Herero also mobilised and stormed Windhoek, the capital of the Afrikaners, and razed the mission station there to the ground. On the 11th and 12th of December in a fierce battle at Otjikongo near Okahandja, the Nama were completely beaten. Jan Jonker just managed to save himself with a few Afrikaners, but his power was broken and the supreme power of the Afrikaners over the Nama passed into the hands of the Orlam tribe residing in Gibeon. Jan hid himself in the Gaus Mountains and wrought much damage to the Herero by incessant pillaging expeditions.

7. Moses Witbooi, the chief of the Orlam at Gibeon then became spokesman and supreme ruler of the Nama. Imbued with a spirit of ineradicable hatred against the Herero he

instigated another campaign against them, which on September 22nd came to a battle. On both sides more soldiers had been raised than ever before. Again were the Nama defeated, and had to deliver up all wagons, ammunition and horses to the Herero. The missionary Hahn tried to establish peace on behalf of the Cape Government, but not one of the Nama chiefs was willing to participate in the peace negotiations, and a separate treaty only was entered into by the Herero and Rehoboth Bastards, who had taken over this territory from the Swartboois ten years previously, and had had to suffer very much as a buffer state between the quarrelsome Nama and Herero.

8. Then Moses Witbooi decided to punish the disloyal Bastards who were thus compelled to cast themselves on the mercy of the Herero. The latter consequently again entered Namaland with their herds and the Nama were once more driven to defend themselves. In addition to this Moses Witbooi undertook marauding expeditions against the Bastards, never dreaming that for this he would have an opponent, in his own son, the clever and energetic teacher at Gibeon, Hendrik Witbooi, who wanted his father to restore the stolen cattle to the Bastards.

For this reason father and son fell out and Hendrik migrated to the south in order to furnish himself with ammunition and arms. In June, 1884, he was so well armed that he decided to undertake a campaign against the Herero with his own train of followers, which had been strengthened by an influx of Jan Jonker's people. If his father had done his utmost to secure the supreme reign over the Nama tribes after the Afrikaner tribe had become practically powerless, then Hendrik strove still more vigorously after it. It was not due so much to the hatred against the Herero that the teacher became an army leader, but to the conviction that he as conqueror of the Herero, which he believed himself to be destined for by God, could convincingly prove his qualification as supreme ruler of the Nama. Maharero, who had knowledge of everything that was going on and was determined not to be taken unawares by the Nama in Okahandja again, had already pitched a camp beyond the boundaries of Hereroland and awaited Hendrik. A fight lasting three days ensued in which, however, neither side fought very enthusiastically; and as soon as the cry for peace was raised by the ranks of the Herero, Hendrik was not unwilling to arouse that spirit on his side too, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the Herero. Points of issue were soon settled and Hendrik entered Gibeon as the great conqueror.

9. Evidently both sides were not very serious as regards this peace. Hendrik armed himself again and tried to increase his troops, and on October 14th, 1885, felt himself so strong that he tried to raid Okahandja, but did not succeed.

drawing from them and he thought it wiser to make peace with the Herero so as not to have to take up arms against two enemies perhaps later on. 175 721

Captain von Francois, Commissioner of the German Government, now prohibited the import of fire-arms and ammunition and made preliminary arrangements for the subjugation of Hendrik.

After the German Colonial force had been strengthened in 1893 he ventured to attack Hendrik in his mountain fortress, but it was his successor, Major Th. Leutwein, who eventually succeeded in his ultimate subjection towards the middle of September, 1894.

Hendrik then made a treaty with the representatives of the German Government whereby Gibeon was granted him as residence; he became recognised chief of the tribe and was compelled to join the army with his people on being summoned by the German Government. Up to 1904 Hendrik abided by this treaty and South West enjoyed a time of peace, except for a few minor disturbances and local rebellions. [728]

12. In October, 1903, the Bondelswarts, resident in Warmbad on the northern bank of the Orange River, attempted to free themselves from the suzerainty of the German Government. They were led by Morenga, whose father was an Herero and his mother a Nama. His assistant leader was Morris, the son of a European and a woman from the Bondelswart tribe. At the commencement Hendrik Witbooi, with 80 recruits, assisted in the suppression of the rebellion. The Governor, Leutwein, in order to suppress the riots in the south as soon as possible, had gathered all available troops from the north. The Herero took their opportunity and in the beginning of January, 1904, Samuel Maharero gave the order for all farmers in the Herero country to be murdered. The whole of the Herero tribe rose in rebellion. On January the 27th, 1904, Leutwein concluded the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts whereby the Warmbad reserve was granted to them and they were compelled to deliver up 300 guns. [728]

By forced marches the troops went to the north. When, on August the 11th and 12th, at the battle at Waterberg, led by General Trotha, Leutwein's successor, the Herero were annihilated, Hendrik Witbooi's troops were still on the side of the Germans.

13. Morenga at Warmbad did not abide by the terms of the peace of Kalkfontein, for during the first months of the Herero War he had disturbed the eastern boundaries of Namaland with his bands. When the rest of the Nama chiefs saw that he was successful, they also joined in the rebellion with the exception of the tribes at Berseba and Bethanie. Even Hendrik Witbooi lent his ear to a missionary of the Ethiopian Society from Port Elisabeth and participated in the hostilities.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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175 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plun-
721 dered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished " his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested, which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and
178 the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came
[197] under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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leet en ongelijk, hen aengedaen, te wreken: naerdien zy niet alleen verbodt kregen zich t'onthouden van deze en gene wey-plaetzen voor hun vee, daerze die van alle eeuwen her onbemoeit bezeten, en ons in den beginne maer toegelaten hadden, de landen te gebruiken tot een verversch-plaetse; maer zagen ook hun landeryen, zonder hen te kennen, onder d'onzen door d'opperhoofden wierden uitgedeelt, en hen palen gestelt, binnen de welke zy niet mogten weiden; vragende eindelijk of ons zulx geschiede, hoe wy ons in dat stuk zouden dragen? vernamen daer en boven, hoe wy ons dagelix van vest en bolwerken versterkten, het welk, huns bedunkens, tot geen ander einde te zullen strekken, dan om hen en 't hunne allengs onder gebiet, en de voet op den nek te krijgen. Zy hadden, gaven d'onzen weer tot antwoort, dit lant ontrent de kaep, door den oorlogh nu t'eenemael verloren, en noit derhalve hunne gedachten daer over te laten gaen het zelve by vrede of oorlog te zullen weder krijgen.

De laetste rede van dezen *Eykamma*, die ten zesten daghe quam t'overlijden, was, dat hy slechts een gering perzoon was, maer men zijnen overste daer over aen het Fort t'ontbieden hadde, en met die de zaken t'overleggen, om elk het zijn te herstellen, of zoodanigh, als het beste konde gevonden worden, tot staken van het onderling schade en hinder doen. Dit dan voor goet gekeurt, wierden twee of drie Neerlanders uitgezonden, met verslag aen den Overste *Gogosoa* om in het Fort te komen, en onder elkandre een verdragh van vrede op te rechten. Dan alles wiert vergeefs aangewent: want schoon onder hen door den voorverhaelden aenslag, wel een schrik gebragt was, zy voeren echter, daer zy kans zagen, met de wapenen even heftigh voort, zulx men geen middel wist te beramen, om dit geschil ten oorbaerste te bealechten. Weinigh holp ook het stellen

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[20]) This statement was actually made not to Eykamma but to the Capemen when they came to sue for peace. Van Riebeeck says: "They pressed this point so hard that their lands should be evacuated by us, that we were finally compelled to say, that in consequence of the war made against us, they had completely forfeited their rights, and that we were not inclined to restore them, as the country had become the property of the Company by the sword and the rights of war" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 166; cf. D., April 5, 1660.)

[21]) Once more Dapper is inaccurate. Eykamma was captured on July 19, and died in the Fort on Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1659 (cf. D, *ut cit.*).

[22]) This famous character, whose Hottentot name is always given by van Riebeeck as Autoehamao, had been with the English to Bantam before the establishment of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, had picked up some "broken English", and later also

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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"your people have now once for all lost the land around the Cape through war, and you must accordingly never dwell on the idea of getting it back again through peace or through war."[20]) 721

Eykamma died on the sixth day.[21]) His last words were that he was only an insignificant person, but that he thought we should summon his chief to the Fort and discuss with the latter the possibility of restoring to each what was his, or of making whatever arrangement might be found best to put an end to the reciprocal damage and inconvenience. This being approved, two or three Dutchmen were sent to request Chief Gogosoa to come to the Fort, so that a mutual treaty of peace could be established. But the attempt was all in vain; for although the blow mentioned above had scared them, they nevertheless carried on fighting with the same vehemence wherever they saw a chance, so that we could think of no means of bringing this dispute to the most suitable close. It also helped but little to place good guards everywhere among the free farmers living about an hour or two from the Fort, since these Hottentots, owing to their great agility and swiftness, were able to drive away from our countrymen the cattle and sheep which went out to graze by day, and to carry them off without ever being overtaken.

This war, in which our countrymen were killed, plundered and robbed by the savages, had already lasted ten or eleven months before the dispute was settled in the following way. A certain Hottentot of importance, known to our countrymen as Harry and to his own people as Kamcemoea,[22]) had been banished to Robben Island for some offence committed against us. One dark night, after a stay of three months 728 ● 159

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learned some words of Dutch from the sailors of the wrecked "Haarlem." In consequence, van Riebeeck used him as an interpreter in the cattle trade, but as he obviously served his own interests rather than those of the Dutch, he soon gave rise to dissatisfaction. He deserted the Fort in Oct. 1653, after a Dutch shepherd had been murdered by some of his Hottentots, and did not reappear until June 1655, when for reasons of policy he was received back into favour. Once more his interference led to a disruption of the cattle trade, and the signs of his complicity in cattle thefts from the Dutch became so evident that at last, in July 1656, he was banished to Robben Island and all the cattle which he had appropriated for himself confiscated. He was brought back the following year to guide the Dutch to the camps of the enemy Hottentot tribes, but failed to do so, and was sent back to the island, whence he subsequently escaped. After the war he again frequented the Fort, and died soon after van Riebeeck left the Cape, some time in 1663. (D. passim; cf. Bosman, "Uit die Biografie van 'n Hottentot," *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, x, 143-51.) 728 159

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on the island, he and another Hottentot[23]) managed to make land in a leaky fishing-skiff provided with two oars, the wind favouring them. They found the settlements of their fellow Gorachouquas and Goringhaiquas again erected in the vicinity. The flight of these two savages was reported to Governor Riebeeck after a few days by a certain free burgher of Saldanha Bay,[24]) who came sailing from there. On the following day the Governor sent out six Dutchmen to go seeking along the shore until they came across the skiff or any sign of it. The men set out, with provisions of food for four or five days, and on the next day, just about eleven miles from the Fort, found the skiff lying high and dry in a pretty little sand bay, with the oars by it and some grass inside, as if someone had slept there at night. But they saw no people thereabouts, nor any Hottentots on the whole trip, although rhinoceros, elephants and other wild beasts were observed often enough. After a trip of four days, these six men at last came back to the Fort, without having achieved their object, and told the Governor of their adventure.[25])

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At long last, in the month of February, 1660, the aforesaid Harry or Kamcemoea came to the Fort with the Chief Chore, accompanied by thirteen fat cattle and more than a hundred other savages, all unarmed.[26]) They entreated that we should be willing to accept these fat cattle as a token of friendship, and that they should again be permitted to visit us as before. In addition they agreed to let us plough the land within three hours' journey of the Fort with corn and other seed, but on condition that we did not plough up any more land than was already under cultivation. As soon as this compact had been concluded on both sides by word of mouth, the Hottentots were regaled in the Fort with bread, tobacco and brandy, from which they made themselves dead drunk. The others, as soon as they learned that the dispute was settled, also came running

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23) This man was a Gorachhouqua spy captured July 12, 1659, and used without success to guide Harry and the Dutch to the camping-places of his people. He was sent to Robben Island on Oct. 3, where Harry followed him in Oct. 20 (D. *ut cit.*).

24) D., Dec. 8, 1659. The escape had taken place "8 or 10 days" before.

25) Cf. D., Dec. 9-13, 1659.

26) Dapper's information is incorrect. The first pact was concluded on April 5-6 with the Capemen and their chief Gogosoa (D., *ut cit.*). Chore, "with a retinue of about 100 men, among them the eldest and principal of the tribe, bringing with them 13 head of cattle fairly old and young," did not come to sue for peace until a month later (D., May 5, 1660).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort. 728 159

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[37]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little. 728 [622] 728 273

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of *ha, ho, ho, ho*, for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away. 728 152 728 535 [533]

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[37]) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1660.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[22a]) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

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COCHOQUAS OR SALDANHARS.

The Kochoquas[22b]) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

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All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Gonnoma; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 20, 1659). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Chariguriquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gonnoma on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afri. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495).

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9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33]) They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34]) In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35]) From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36]) By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37])

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38]) Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33]) This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34]) These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35]) See above, p. 111.

[36]) This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37]) In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38]) Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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another, and there is poison on the hurtling iron, and with sure aim they find their mark, and in internecine war, not sparing non-combatants of any age or sex, they mercilessly slaughter the enemy to the last man, casting at the conquered, who in vain appeal for mercy, the scornful taunt: a bad crow, a bad egg. The prize of the combat is a booty of a herd of kine or flock of sheep, or arms, and sometimes those of the conquered general. These are quickly plundered, being sought for by many hands. So they wear one another down.

By what method and what art they poison their weapons I omit to describe lest I should be found to have added fuel to a Europe already more than enough ablaze with war, to have opened up a path for the extirpation of the human race, and surrendered myself as an object of loathing to mothers and to posterity.

When about to make peace they assemble armed on their common boundary, and after agreeing upon the terms, forthwith they pierce a heifer with darts and spears upon the frontier line and leave it to be eaten of wild beasts, denouncing all sorts of curses on his head who should break the treaty, and praying that he should perish for his treachery by being transfixed like the victim, and be cast forth accursed as a prey to carrion birds and ravening animals. They adopt these vows with all due form.[19])

On the 28th of January, 1687, occurred an incident I shall now describe. There is a certain chief of our Africans, who has deserved very well of the Dutch; he lives in a district to the East distant three or four days' journey from the Cape, and long ago ingratiated himself with our Society and entrusted everything to its good faith. His native name is *Thausouwe*, but our men call him Captain Nicolaus.[20]) On the day in question he came, in response to a summons, to the Castle, accompanied by another native, his neighbour, a man of equal dignity, in order that the Governor of the Cape might hear their case and by his skill and authority compose with good will on both sides before it became too strong a quarrel that had broken out between them and was threatening to end in war. The matter was soon disposed of. Under the Governor's suasion all bitterness was banished from their breasts, their passions were allayed, there was a complete restoration of

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[19]) There appears to be no other record of such a ceremony.

[20]) This man was probably Captain Klaas, or *Dorha*, already mentioned by Ten Rhyne (see above p. 111). His "enemy" was Koopman, whose rivalry ultimately led to the downfall of Klaas. There is no record in the official journal of the incident here referred to by G.